

AN

ADDRESS ON SLAVERY.

DELIVERED IN DANVERS, MASS.,

BY

DANIEL FOSTER,

PASTOR OF THE FREE EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF NORTH DANVERS,

COMPLIANCE WITH THE REQUEST OF THE VOTERS OF DANVERS.

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BOSTON, SEPT. 29, 1849.

AT a meeting of the Wesleyan Church in this city, held on the evening of the 27th September, the following Resolutions were introduced by the Pastor, Rev. Mr. Stockman; discussed by William Blakemore, William Holmes, Dr. Fininley, and others, and unanimously adopted.

RESOLVED, That the unfeigned and earnest thanks of this Church are due to the Rev. Mr. Foster, for the elaborate, eloquent and *just* Discourse delivered by him to this Church and Society, last Sabbath evening, on the subject of American Slavery.

RESOLVED, That Rev. Mr. Foster be respectfully and earnestly requested to publish the above named Discourse.

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A D D R E S S .

Fellow-Members of our Common Brotherhood :

I COME before you on this occasion, to perform a most important duty, in answer to your own request. In common courtesy, therefore, you will feel bound to give me an attentive hearing. But there is no occasion, at this day and in this town, for an earnest and a loving brother to ask your *courtesy*, when addressing you upon the momentous theme on which you seek a word of counsel from me. You feel an absorbing interest in the subject of American Slavery. You know that in the question of its extinction or continuance, as a social institution in our country, are involved this nation's salvation or ruin ; — our future destiny of steady and glorious advancement in the Social Brotherhood of mankind, moving ever on in the van of human improvement, and of human happiness ; or of retrograde and swift descent from our exalted social position, down the broad path of national injustice, into the burning retribution which assuredly awaits the nation that persists in wrong doing, and into which so many disobedient, proud, and oppressive empires and kingdoms of the past have gone down to rise no more.

We are enlisted and engaged in a momentous, far-reaching controversy — the great warfare of this age — wide as the world in its range, lasting as eternity in its destined results. The great question

now at issue is, shall the principles of the Gospel of Christ, i. e., Universal Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality; liberty of conscience, will, and judgment in serving God; liberty of choice in the duties of the social state; fraternity of feeling towards all men; the practical and unfailing acknowledgment of the Brotherhood of mankind in Jesus Christ, and equality in all the social privileges of this brotherhood,—shall these glorious and heavenly principles of redeeming love become the universal law of men, or shall the abhorrent principle of despotism secure the control of the world, and crush beneath its iron heel the bleeding heart of ruined humanity?

Ages of preparation for this momentous struggle have passed, and *we*, the living actors of the present hour, are enlisted on the right or on the wrong side. There is no neutral ground for us. We are enrolled on the side of human progress; and, under the banner of heavenly love, dyed in the blood of the Captain of our salvation, we are contending for the world's redemption and salvation; or in the ranks of the enemy of man, we are aiding to bind upon the soul the chains of ignorance and degradation, and to fetter the toiling millions of earth in the bondage of want and unrequited toil.

Society is in a transforming state. Each day brings forth wonderful, startling change. The past two years are crowded with revolutions and uprisings of the oppressed sons and daughters of toil, which would have marked *centuries* of the past with an enduring interest. It is but yesterday, as it were, since the ablest and most selfish of European monarchs sat on the throne of France, secure, as he thought, through eighteen years of undisturbed possession of his place of power, and guarded by one hundred thousand bayonets. He fancied himself invincible in resources of wisdom and power, and in the mistaken consciousness of resistless might, the

old despot threw himself in the way of the on-rolling car of human progress. Louis Philippe lost throne, home and birthright, in the vain attempt to chain Humanity. He is now a poor exile from home—powerless and forgotten. May God in like manner confound all the oppressors of mankind!

As in France, aspiring freedom and social love strive against grinding tyranny and social hatred, so in the world at large, the day of decisive issue is dawning between Hate and Love, Right and Wrong, Freedom and Bondage. The *decision* of this controversy is at hand, and will mark the age that shall witness it with an interest—an importance—unparalleled in the ages of the past. But, my friends, in no other country can so much and so speedily be done, for the universal triumph of Truth and Right, as in our own beloved land. And no where else can so much be done to shroud the earth in mourning, at the downfall of Truth and Right, as *here and now*. We exert an inevitable and most important influence in the decision of the one transcendent question, on the right and speedy settlement of which depends, more or less intimately, the well-being of all men. That question is, “Shall slavery be extended and perpetuated in our land, giving over society to the desolation of unrestrained selfishness? Or shall slavery be walled in and extirpated, root and branch, and society be brought under the saving power of righteousness. love and universal good will?”

In the mind of the true patriot, philanthropist and Christian, this question must take precedence in this country of all other questions. In the settlement of the great principle now at issue between American slavery and American justice, is involved every conceivable interest of country, humanity, and Christianity. Let the slave-power triumph and make our land the permanent home of its whips, and chains, and branding-irons, and to love such a country, or

pray for her prosperity, would be a deadly sin. True patriotism would die in our midst. Philanthropy could only weep and wail in heart-breaking woe, over a crushed and hopeless Humanity. Christianity could no more survive the blighting influence of slavery, were *it* to become the controlling power of our country, than you could live in the sea of fire which surges in the bowels of Etna. But let simple justice and right be done, let the heavenly principle of the Gospel of Christ,—to mete out to others the measure we desire for ourselves,—prevail with a controlling influence. Under this blessed influence, let slavery be peaceably abolished, and all oppression give way to Christian liberty, fraternity and equality, and *then* a bright day of national honor, peace, prosperity, and progress, of philanthropic love and good will,—of true practical, holy and heavenly Christianity, would dawn upon our land. Yea, more; in the light of that glorious day of love, should all the nations of the earth be made glad, and the sons of God, the seraphs of heaven, the holy servants of the Most High, joining with the sons of men, should fill the universe with the olden song—

“ Glory to God on High,
Peace and good will to man below.”

I know not how any one can fail to perceive that *this* question involves issues far more momentous than *any* other question, which now lays hold upon an awakened public mind. The good man must show by his conduct in this matter, the holy principle by which he is governed and impelled to take his fortune, not on the side of the oppressor, the slaveholder, but on the side of the victim, the slave, and with his fettered brother.

In the present most important crisis, the patriot must stake all, in the great endeavor to deliver his home and country from the inevitable and fearful

desolation which will surely come upon our land, if the accursed system of human bondage be not speedily and utterly overthrown. If your watch and your toil be not against the slaveholder and for the slave, then verily you are the enemy and the betrayer, not the friend and savior of your country.

The Christian's first and most sacred duty in the vineyard of his Lord, *now*, is to succor and save his bleeding brother in bonds, to put the ban of deep abhorrence and reprobation upon the sin of slaveholding and slaveholding support, and to provide a secure asylum, where safety and hope shall cheer the crushed and the chained.

If you feel no sympathy of soul, no yearnings of heart, no community of wrongs and woes, for and with the slave; if your indignation slumbers at the recital of the cruel sin of the slaveholder; if you have any fellowship in the privileges of the church or of society, with those who make merchandise of God's children; if your religion does not impel you to labor zealously and constantly, in the world and in the sanctuary, on the Sabbath and on other days, for the immediate overthrow of American Slavery, and for the immediate elevation to all the rights and enjoyments of the great Christian brotherhood, of the three millions of outraged and desolated slaves in our land, then I pray you to tell me what your religion is worth to your own soul, to God, or to dying man?

Beware! You may hear the awful words of condemnation, "inasmuch as ye gave no ministration of love and mercy to these outraged and perishing brethren, ye despised and neglected me. Depart, ye workers of iniquity!"

Permit me now to call your attention to the two resolutions which were passed by the town of Danvers at our last annual meeting:

"RESOLVED, By the voters of Danvers, in Town-Meeting assembled, 'That we deeply deplore the sin of our nation, in holding

slaves ; and we feel it our duty to use all means in accordance with Christianity, to hasten the overthrow of the system of American Slavery.'

"RESOLVED, That we believe in the righteousness, safety, and expediency of immediate emancipation ; and we believe it our duty to do all we can to secure this result."

I pray God, that the just sentiments of these resolves may firmly seize upon the public conscience, and control the nation's conduct. *Then*, but never otherwise, would this be that happy people, whose God is the Lord ; and our country would be exalted by a saving righteousness, a redeeming love, a divine justice.

At the formation of our present federative government, the number of slaves was about one fifth the number now in bondage. The slave territory was then less than one fourth the area now blighted by the presence, on the soil, of human servitude. And yet, slavery has been abolished in several of the States of the Union, now free, since the adoption of our Constitution. Here let me state an important fact. It was the general expectation and desire, sixty years ago, that slavery would be extended in this country no further. The Fathers of our Union, though they saw not the atrocious evil of slavery as we now see it, did nevertheless, see and acknowledge its evil and ruinous nature. In their day, it was universally acknowledged, that slavery was an alarming evil, and it was the general expectation and desire, that measures would be adopted by the States, for its removal. Washington declared that his suffrage and influence should never be wanting for the abolition of slavery, by legislative enactment, in Virginia. Jefferson expressed trembling fears of national ruin, in view of God's justice, through our atrocious system of human bondage, one hour's endurance of which he declared to be worse than the oppression of England, by which our fathers were driven to revolt. Lafayette, who nobly aided our fathers in their darkest hour, on his

last visit to this country, at a public dinner in Salem, emphatically said, that he never would have spent a dollar nor struck a blow for our independence, had he not been assured that we honestly meant to secure the freedom of the slave, by gaining our own. No fact can be clearer than the intention of our fathers to localize and discourage slavery, or than their general hope to see it soon abolished by State action. And yet, we see slavery extended, in sixty years, to a new and then unoccupied territory, of greater magnitude, and of wider natural resources, than the original thirteen States. This fact opens to our view an alarming national departure from justice and right, of fearful import against us.

It is of unspeakable importance that we, *one and all*, should now understand the evil influence by which this work of ruin has been accomplished. Equally important, too, that the freemen of this nation should rise up as one man, at once and for ever to destroy this unholy influence. Do you ask, "what is that power which has seared the nation's conscience, blinded her understanding, debased her judgment, and consecrated her vast resources to the infernal scheme of extending and perpetuating the bondage of man?" Nothing but the slave-power could undertake such a mission.

Unprincipled slave-breeders and traders, uniting with unprincipled and ambitious politicians from all sections of the Union, have accomplished this horrible work. *They* are now guiding the ship of state on to the sharp rocks and into the boiling surge. "When the constitution was formed, slavery was *permitted* to exist for a little period, that it might prepare itself to die. Whoever studies the sentiment of that day, will see that men no more intended the perpetuation of slavery in this republic, than again to place the yoke which they had broken upon their own necks. Mark the contrast. One of the first acts of legisla-

tion *then*, was to prohibit slavery in all that territory which had not been formed into States. *In a later time*, we admit States that prohibit the abolition of slavery for ever. *Then*, all the territories belonging to the country were declared to be free. *Now*, we receive new regions, far wider than mighty empires, in which we sanction human bondage. Then, slavery, as upon its bended knees, pleaded for a brief delay in the execution of the sentence of death which seemed to be issued against it, in the fundamental principles of the republic, and the living spirit of the nation. *In a later generation*, slavery has assumed the dominion, and Liberty herself has been dumb in its presence."

We will now briefly refer to some of the enormities of the slave-power. By the slave-power, you will understand the influence of that combination of men who act together for the extension, permanence and supremacy of slavery in our country. First, the Texas swindle.

The neighboring state of Mexico, having achieved her own independence, published, September 15, 1829, a decree for the entire abolition of slavery, in which we find these remarkable words: "Being desirous to signalize the anniversary of independence, by an act of national justice and beneficence, which may redound to the advantage and support of so inestimable a good, which may tend to the aggrandizement of the republic, and which may reinstate an unfortunate portion of its inhabitants in the sacred rights which nature gave them, whom the nation should protect by wise and wholesome laws,—I [the President] have resolved to decree, that slavery is and shall remain abolished in this republic."

When this righteous decree became the universal law of the Mexican States, the inexorable sentence against an inoffensive neighbor, just entering upon the experiment of self-government, went forth from the

slave-power of our country: "*Thy heritage shall be torn from thee, and thy portion divided amongst thy spoilers.*" In accordance with this unholy purpose, slaveholders and their allies poured into a province of Mexico, and establishing slavery therein, in open violation of the fundamental law of the land, they raised the standard of revolt. While that robber war was fiercely waged, regiments were openly raised and equipped in our country, to aid the desperadoes of Texas, in wresting that vast province from a sister republic, that it might be dedicated as a prison-house for the slave. So far was our government from interfering to arrest this high-handed crime, that the President, himself a large slaveholder, sent a division of the United States' Army, under Gen. Gaines, to give covert aid to the infernal enterprise. It was just as impossible for the infant republic of Mexico to withstand the might of the wicked and powerful combination against her, as for the noble Hungarians to roll back the desperate hordes of Russia and Austria. Both were doomed to fall, because unprotected innocence was pitted against the organized powers of desperate and determined tyranny. The dark design of the slave-power was accomplished, and human bondage was established on one hundred and ninety-two millions of acres of free soil!

Then came the effort to introduce Texas into the Union. The slave-power planned and toiled to effect this purpose, while the nation slumbered on in besotted carelessness. By the vigilance of a few far-seeing, true-hearted and unyielding men, the slave-power was compelled to defer the accomplishment of this darling plan. But the genius of oppression never for one moment relaxed its toil, till success crowned its efforts, and Texas entered the sisterhood of States, with a constitution dooming her soil to the blighting curse of perpetual bondage!

But this triumph gave no rest to the plotting, bane-

ful slave-power. This act of dark injustice and national debasement was only one of a long series of contemplated crimes, all in due time to follow, for the further extension of slavery.

The next act of outrageous crime was consummated under the Presidency of James K. Polk, through the unhesitating assistance of the two great political parties of this country. The national honor is trailed in the dust, the nation's integrity is destroyed, and the nation's account of wrong-doing, calling aloud for sweeping retribution, is fearfully augmented, by a national prosecution of a pro-slavery war of conquest and dismemberment, against a defenceless neighbor, in order to add a vast area of virgin soil to the land of whips, and chains, and branding-irons! A slaveholding President, the infamous tool of the slave-power, and the Congress of the United States, Whigs and Democrats, with the exception of fourteen noble men, bowed the knee to the bloody Moloch of Slavery, and joined wicked hands in the prosecution of this nefarious war against Humanity. They raised and sent against Mexico seventy-five thousand men, under the command of the two great robbers of this land, to bombard the cities, and to desolate the fields of an unfortunate neighbor. All this was undertaken and carried out by our Government, at the behest of the slave-power, to enlarge the area of human bondage!

In the prosecution of this heaven-daring crime, two hundred millions of dollars were wasted, and stagnation in business, with deep, lasting commercial distress, was recklessly brought down upon the country by this terrible waste. The present generation and generations yet unborn, were burdened with an enormous debt. One hundred thousand members of the human brotherhood were immolated on the bloody altar of war. The fiendish passions of the damned were let loose to spread moral havoc and desolation through our land.

We are beginning to reap the fruits of such wretched national husbandry. In our own beloved Massachusetts, intemperance, gambling and licentiousness prevail to an alarming and unprecedented degree. Witness the open and high-handed violation of law by hundreds of desperate men, banded together, and plying in open day their work of death at all public gatherings, at Neponset, at Concord, at Danvers. See the gamblers resisting and defeating all the efforts of the officers of the law to arrest their wickedness. Crime never before walked abroad in our cities and large towns, in such proud defiance of law as it now does. The nation is pressing on to fearful retribution, under the control of the slave-power. Surely then we speak the words of soberness and truth, when we appeal to all true hearts, in the words of our resolutions, earnestly saying unto them: "Brothers and sisters, we *must* deeply deplore the sin of our nation in holding slaves. We *must* feel it to be our duty to use all means in accordance with Christianity, to hasten the overthrow of the system of American slavery. We believe it to be our imperative duty to do all we can to secure *immediate emancipation*, as the only righteous, safe and expedient remedy for this evil."

Let us look once more into the dark record of crime wrought out by the slave-power.

The Cherokee and Choctaw Indians trusted in the nation's honor and faith, which were plighted to them in solemn, specific and binding treaties, to protect them in the undisturbed possession and enjoyment of the small remnant of the land of their fathers, on which they then dwelt. They were learning the arts and surrounding themselves with the comforts of civilized life. They lived peaceably at home, confiding in the plighted word of a great people, generously given to them in their weakness. But their rich and valuable lands, their beautiful homes, were situated in the midst of the slave States. The slave-power

coveted its weak neighbor's vineyard, and finding that the precious homes of this defenceless people could not be fairly purchased, the meanest fraud was resorted to in order to put forth a claim to their possessions, and then the national force was employed to *drive* the heart-broken Indian away from his dear old home, into the wilderness wilds beyond the Mississippi. The slave-power polluted our national character by this falsehood and fraud ; and then, with a triumphant jubilee, consecrated the fair inheritance, which this nation had wrested from the trusting and the defenceless, to the cruelties and woes of human bondage.

A feeble band of Seminoles, the remnant of a great tribe, lived upon the land of their fathers, among the everglades of Florida. The slave-power coveted their beautiful land, and demanded our assistance to drive into returnless exilement, the doomed victims of a merciless avarice. We met this atrocious demand by expending forty millions of dollars, by sacrificing ten thousand lives, pouring in upon the fastnesses and homes of the poor Indians, a horde of house-burners, women-violators, children-stealers and men-slayers, led on by the bloodhound warrior, who now executes our laws ! Before this sweeping tide of cruelty, rapine and death, the courage of the brave Indian gave way to despair. A train of weeping mourners is led away to dig their graves in the far-distant West. *The Indian's home in the land of flowers is now the land of chains.*

All these crimes of robbery and murder, the slave-power instigated and the nation executed. Crime of such unmitigated meanness, of such damning atrocity, as our nation is guilty of, in robbing the Indians and Mexicans of their inheritance, in order to plant slavery thereon, can hardly be found in the annals of any other people. And so sure as a just God reigns, dispensing righteous judgments to the children of

men, such high-handed and heaven-daring national crime is working the downfall of this people. Let repentance be delayed, let restitution be refused, and let the same course of cruel injustice be persisted in, and national retribution, wide, sweeping and thorough, must be our doom. And when that hour comes, and this nation is overthrown, all the people of the earth shall shout a glad amen, at the fall of this Babylon of oppression, rapine and deception. How clear, therefore, to every one whose eye is single, our imperative duty to deplore with deepest feeling, the sin of our nation, and our sin in holding slaves, and to use all fair and honorable means for the immediate overthrow of the slave-power, which is working out for us such speedy and fearful ruin.

See now how the slave-power involves the nation in the sin of hypocrisy. We profess before the world to respect the right of free thought and of free discussion. How does the reality compare with such professions? Why, it is notorious, that wherever the slave-power controls the public mind, *there* is no freedom of thought or of discussion. The tyranny of the Spanish Inquisition, in its darkest days of greatest cruelty, can hardly be said to exceed the tyranny of the slave-power, in shackling the free thoughts of men, and in chaining down all free discussion. In proof of this statement, I will present to you three extracts from three of the leading journals of the South, upon the subject of free discussion. The New Orleans True American says: "We can assure the Bostonians, one and all, who have embarked in the nefarious scheme of abolishing slavery at the South, that lashes will hereafter be spared the backs of their emissaries. Let them send out their men to Louisiana,—*they will never return to tell their sufferings, but they shall expiate the crime of interfering in our domestic institutions, by being BURNED AT THE STAKE.*"

Says the Augusta (Georgia) Chronicle: "The cry of the whole South should be *death*—INSTANT DEATH to the Abolitionist, wherever he is caught."

Says the Columbia (South Carolina) Telescope: "Let us declare, through the public journals of our country, *that the question of slavery is not and shall not be open for discussion ; that the system is too deep-rooted among us, and must remain for ever ;* that the very moment any private individual attempts to lecture us upon its evils and immoralities, and the necessity of putting means in operation to secure ourselves from them, IN THE SAME MOMENT HIS TONGUE SHALL BE CUT OUT AND CAST UPON THE DUNGHILL."

So speaks the slave-power. *Its actions come up to the full atrocity of its denunciations.* Was the Spanish Inquisition ever worse than this?

Hangman Foote, of Mississippi, a senator in Congress, deliberately and openly declared, in the Senate Chamber, that he and his neighbors would hang up by the neck, on some tall tree, a brother senator from New Hampshire, if he would only afford them the pleasant opportunity, by coming among them, and giving utterance to his convictions of the evil and crime of slavery. There is no doubt it would be done with bonfires and public rejoicings, by the slaveholders of that State. *John P. Hale would be murdered in open day, if he should visit Mississippi, and talk there as he does at home.*

You can see how the slave-power degrades the minds of our statesmen, who succumb to its influence in this disgraceful fact, viz.: when that threat of assassination was made in our Senate Chamber, no senator from the Free States rebuked the fell assassin! Where then was the burning eloquence of Ohio's favorite son? Where the unequalled power of withering rebuke belonging to the gifted son of Massachusetts' adoption? All were dumb, cowed by the braying of the ass, on which rode the embodied spirit of the slave-power!

South Carolina takes the free citizens of Massachusetts from our vessels, when they arrive in her ports, and confines them in her pestilential jails, for no crime but the color of their skin! Our Commonwealth sends one of her most venerable men to try the constitutionality of the law which authorizes these outrages. The slave-power fears the light of free discussion, and so Samuel Hoar is ignominiously *driven* from the South, and the will of a sister State, as well as the rights of Humanity, are trampled in the dust by the inexorable slave-power! Shame on Massachusetts, that she cannot find a man who will stand firm in that post of duty, unawed by the threats of slavery, and unmoved by the danger of a martyr's death! *A true man would have died then rather than flee.*

A Wesleyan minister is now awaiting his trial in Virginia, charged with circulating "Rev. E. Smith's Bible Argument on Slavery," and with loaning "Frederick Douglass's Narrative." These two charges subject him to an imprisonment in the State Penitentiary, of not less than two years, nor more than ten years. All can judge, from the past conduct of the slave-power in such cases, what the measure of cruelty meted out to him will probably be.

Barrett, a citizen of Ohio, passing through South Carolina, is arrested on the bare suspicion of being an abolitionist, and of being engaged in circulating a pamphlet through that State, in which is exposed the unjust representative system, fixed upon the State by the slave-power. The United States mail is rifled to get evidence against him, and our Postmaster-General, though cradled and nurtured into manhood among the free hills of Vermont, bows down in craven fear, to this outrage upon the constitution, by the slave-power! *Was Arnold a baser traitor?*

Mr. Janeway, of Loudon County, Virginia, has been presented by the grand jury for writing articles

against slavery, for the National Era, a paper printed in the District of Columbia, out of the jurisdiction of Virginia. What the punishment will be, which such an offence may be thought to deserve in the native State of Washington and Jefferson, we cannot tell. But judging by the past, it cannot be a light one. Such facts might be multiplied to any extent. How false and hypocritical, then, our nation's boasted freedom of thought and of discussion! *Freedom and Truth inevitably perish wherever slavery exists.*

But it is time, in our enumeration of the atrocious crimes of the slave-power, to consider the ruined slave.

Since the formation of our government, nine millions of human beings, according to a careful estimate, have lived, toiled and died, slaves in our land. *Nine millions now in the world of eternal and just award, swift and fearful witnesses against this people!* Three millions are now slaves, fettered and degraded, in this land of boasted liberty!

It is not my purpose in this address to say a word of the whips, and chains, and branding-irons of slavery. These are but a drop in the ocean of unavoidable cruelties and woes of the accursed system. It is not the *body* so much as it is the heart, the *soul* of the slave, which is marked with the indelible scars of remorseless tyranny.

These numberless fellow-beings, one and all, have the same intuitive and irrepressible longings after happiness that you and I have. The same thrilling love for home, and for the dear members of the family circle, as brightly burns in *their* souls as in *ours*. The same yearnings of heart for improvement in social and intellectual condition, lay hold upon *them* as upon *us*. But all these sacred feelings of the living and immortal mind are disregarded and desecrated by the ruthless slave-power in the case of untold millions of members of the human brotherhood, doomed by

that power to wear away life in mental darkness and in chains !

I entreat of you a *patient* hearing, while I now endeavor to aid you in remembering the slave, *according to God's command, as bound with him*. Brother ! put yourself in the place of the slave-husband. Sister ! put yourself in the place of the slave-wife. You have gained the affections of one to whom you have given the priceless treasure of your love. The happiness of this relationship, and the sweet communion of fond hearts, are daily embittered and darkened by the fear of a cruel separation. It is not death that you fear as the agent appointed to separate you, and the cause of despairing woe. O no ! *'tis your master—your brother. He owns you and your wife. He* can sunder the ties which join you in holy affection, and which make of two *one heart*. He can send away your husband, never to return to your embrace, leaving you in a hopeless, joyless widowhood, and your children in an unprotected state, worse than orphanage. He can sell your wife, tear her from your embrace, and send her away to returnless exilement, leaving you to mourn without hope. Your master can sell you or your wife just as he can sell his ox or his horse, and no earthly power can save or aid you.

Listen to an extract from the thrilling narrative of Henry Box Brown.

Henry was a slave in Virginia. He had a wife and three children, for whom he was paying one hundred and twenty dollars a year. One morning he went to work as usual, but on returning at noon, found that his wife and children had been seized and sold upon the auction-block, to the slave-traders, and were to be transported out of the State the next day, in a slave-gang, which had just been filled by the purchase of his wife and children. Henry says : "The next day I stationed myself by the side of the

road, over which the slaves, three hundred and fifty-three, were to pass. There was a large company of us waiting to take a last farewell of the dear ones of our homes. A moan of sorrow could be heard on all sides as we waited for the sad procession. Soon five waggons came along, loaded with the children too small to walk. My little girl saw me, and pointing to me with her hand out of the waggon, cried out, 'There's my father; I knew he would come to say good-bye.' I was choked with sorrow, and could not reply a word. When the slave-gang came up, I got hold of the hand of my wife, and walked weeping by her side for several miles. We could not talk; our sorrow was too great; and we parted without speaking the word, farewell.

"Henry remarked, with the deepest pathos, that after his wife and children were stolen, his heart was broken. He had learned to sing, to lighten the tedium of his labor, and for the gratification of his fellow-captives, but now he could not sing. His thoughts were far away in the rice-swamps of Carolina. His wife was not and his children were not, and he refused to be comforted. When the master, noticing his despondency, told him he could get another wife (Southern morality), Brown shook his head,—the wife of his affections and the children of his love or none at all."

Brothers, will you remember the sorrows of Henry Box Brown? Sisters, will you think upon the situation of that heart-broken wife?

Fathers and mothers! put yourselves in the place of the *slave-father* and the *slave-mother*, and see if you could endure their cruel woes. You love your children with a parent's fond, enduring affection. Your intense desire is to promote your children's well-being, to secure their happiness. But alas! you have no control over the destiny of your offspring. You are not permitted to send your dear

little boys and girls to school. No one is allowed to impart knowledge to their eager minds. Ignorant and degraded you usher them into the world, ignorant and degraded they *must* live and die. *Your children are slaves. They belong to your master.* He may do with them as seemeth proper to him, and you have no remedy, however unjustly or cruelly your beloved child is treated. If you have a beautiful, graceful daughter, that beauty and grace will fetch their price. Your daughter may be exposed for unrestrained examination and sale upon the auction-block, in the presence of insensate fiends, burning with hellish lust. Avarice, overpowered by the fires of unholy passion, which her beauty and grace will awaken in lecherous villians, will pay down the price, and your lovely child is carried off to the harem of death-dealing lust.

Sorrowfully I speak of these things. With indescribable sympathy, I think of the thousands and tens of thousands of our defenceless and wretched sisters in the polluted land of slavery. Who else on earth so completely in the hands of unprincipled tyrants as they? Whose condition demands such fervent commiseration as theirs?

“SALE OF A WHITE GIRL.

A correspondent of the Saturday Visiter, formerly a resident of a slave State, but now living in Pittsburg, furnishes the following case of the sale of a white girl, which came under his notice:

One day I noticed the slave-market rather more crowded than usual (it was directly opposite the store in which I was engaged.) Curiosity led me to swell the number of the audience; and, O God! I shall never forget the scene which presented itself to my view. A beautiful girl, about 18 years of age, as white as the fairest belle in Pittsburg, stood drowned in tears and wofully dejected, beside the devil incarnate whose business it was to dispose of her body and soul, to the highest bidder; he spoke long, loud and lasciviously of her charms, but could not entirely quench the latent spark of human feeling—some few cried ‘shame!’ He could not excite the bestial passions of the lustful, to entrench upon their pockets to the extent he wished. Not even were the brutal traders in female purity from

New Orleans satisfied with his exordiums of her excellence. They should know more. An aged gentleman bid \$600, and there it stopped. The old man's eye glistened, and he drew up his attenuated form to its full height; he thought the prize was his, and that before to-morrow's sun had sunk in the west, the fair flower that bloomed before him would be blighted and blasted forever. But not so.

The skilful auctioneer of God's image saw that he had raised as much as he could with the poor girl's present appearance, as she had clothed herself as neatly as they would allow. He crying, 'Gentlemen, you know not what a prize you let slip,' pulled off the turban which she wore, and a magnificent head of long hair fell down about her shoulders, dark as night, and wavy as the sea when fanned by a gentle breeze. The Southern rascal bid \$650, the old one \$700, and again all was fair for the hopes of the Septuagenarian, when with dastard hand, the ruffian salesman tore asunder the dress which covered her bosom, and exposed to the libertine gaze around him, a bust in beauty and purity never surpassed by painter or sculptor. I turned away, and went home sick at heart. Forgive me, O God, if I almost doubted thy justice. I was informed a few hours after, that the poor girl swooned, and while in a state of insensibility, was examined, bid for, and at last bought by one of the Southern traders. May God have pity on her!

On inquiry, I found that she had been raised and educated by an old lady, whose property she was, and who died suddenly intestate. For the purpose of division among her heirs, her real estate and slaves were all sold by auction, under an order from some court of law. I had lived for many years in a country where law and not justice ruled; had seen much of the iniquity of the system, but never was so thoroughly disgusted as in this instance. I remained but a few weeks in Tennessee, and without the slightest feeling of regret, although I left many dear relations behind, came here a comparative stranger to all around me, but have now made many dear friends, all of whom have as great repugnance to the horrible traffic as myself."

O, how heart-rending the condition of the slave in the sweet relation of family and home! The Rev. R. J. Breckenridge of Kentucky, thus speaks on this point, of the family and home relations of the slave. He characterized it as "the most atrocious of all human institutions," as a system "which denies to a whole class of human beings the sacredness of marriage and of home, compelling them to live in a state of concubinage, for in the eye of the law no colored slave-man is the husband of any wife in par-

ticular, nor any slave-woman the wife of any husband in particular, and no slave-child is the child of any parent in particular."

Are *you* a slave? You are then in degrading misery yourself, and your children must be in the same condition. In the social and civil state you are possessed of no rights. Cruel injustice may be perpetrated upon you in the presence of your family, but *you* have no remedy. You can't enter an action against the wrong-doer. Your family can't bear witness in your behalf, in a court of justice. You are not recognised as an intelligent moral agent. The law makes you a *chattel*, a *thing*,—*the irresponsible property of your master*. The highest, holiest of all rights, a man's right to himself, is wholly denied to you. You can find no sanctuary in the church. The church dares receive you only on the consent of your master. If taken into her bosom, you have no real privilege there. If you possess a meek, gentle, Christian spirit, this too is so much merchandise in your master's hands. Your piety enhances your value upon the auction-block. Imperious tyranny compels you to toil and wear away life for the profit of your master. At his command and for his profit, you may at any time be parted from all you hold dear, and be driven in the slave-coffle to a returnless exilement, and to an early grave. You have no right to cultivate the powers of your mind, to search out the hidden mysteries of nature, to study the character of God, and to seek to know the relations which bind you to the Eternal. The darkness of hopeless ignorance is brought down upon your mind, to extinguish the immortal spark which God has there kindled.

I was witness not long ago to a scene, which filled my heart with deepest sadness. A noble-looking brother, about thirty years old, just from the prison-house of human bondage, was engaged with determined purpose in learning to read and write in one

of the free evening schools of Salem. A fine lad of twelve years, who had enjoyed the blessed privileges of our free schools, was patiently and lovingly imparting knowledge to the eager mind of this poor brother, who had been shut up in the dark prison of slavery during thirty years of his life.

The cruelty, the damning sin of thus shutting up millions of immortal and eager minds from the light and ennobling joys of knowledge, cannot be portrayed by mortal pen or pencil. How appalling the picture of human depravity which is presented to the mind, as we look upon the ignorance and degradation, the mental darkness and inaction, in which the slave is kept by unrelenting coercion!

And now brother, sister, in all soberness, I ask the question, could you endure such desolating wrongs as crush life, and hope, and energy in the soul of the slave? Who wonders that slaves sometimes resist even unto death! Oh, how wonderful their patience and their power of forgiveness! Who can wonder that slaves run away by thousands, braving hunger and thirst, heat and cold, and all the perils of a long and toilsome journey through a hostile land, in order to escape the insupportable horrors of slavery?

In the very capital of this nation, under the laws which *our* representatives enact, seventy human beings, for no crime but attempting to gain their liberty, were last year sold to the fiendish slave-traders, chained in the slave-gang, and marched to fields of toil and death, in the extreme South. I will lay before you a letter to the Albany Evening Journal, written by Slingerland, the representative from that district in our last Congress. The letter is headed, the "Horrors of Slavery." It is worthy of implicit credit, for it comes from no fanatic, but from a cool, cautious and able Whig, who voted last November for our slaveholding and warrior President.

"HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

Correspondence of the Evening Journal.

Washington, April 22, 1848.

FRIEND WEED — Last evening, in passing the railroad depot I saw quite a large number of colored persons gathered round one of the cars, and from manifestations of grief among some of them, I was induced to draw near and ascertain the cause. I found in the car towards which they were so eagerly gazing *fifty colored persons*, some of whom were nearly as white as myself. A large majority of the number were those who attempted to gain their liberty last week, in the schooner Pearl. About half of them were females, a few of whom had but a slight tinge of African blood in their veins — they were finely formed and beautiful. The men were ironed together, and the whole group looked sad and dejected. At each end of the car stood a ruffian-looking guard, with large canes in their hands. In the middle of the car stood the notorious slave-dealer of Baltimore. He had purchased the men and women around him, and was taking his departure for Georgia. While observing this old grey-headed dealer in the bodies and souls of men, the Chaplain of the Senate entered the car, and took his brother by the hand, chatted with him for a short time, and seemed to view the heart-rending scene before him with as little concern as we would look upon cattle! I know not whether he came with a view to sanctify the act, or pronounce the parting blessing; but this I do know, that he justifies slavery! A Presbyterian minister, who owned one of the fugitives, was the first to strike a bargain with the slave-dealer, and make merchandise of God's image. Some of the colored people outside, as well as in the car, were weeping most bitterly. I learned that many families were separated. Wives were there to take leave of their husbands, and husbands of their wives; children of their parents, and parents of their children. Friends parting with friends, and the tenderest ties of humanity severed at a single bid of the inhuman slave-broker before them. A husband, in the meridian of life, begged to see the partner of his bosom. He protested that she was free — that she had free papers, and was torn away from him, and shut up in the jail. He clambered up to one of the windows of the car to see his wife, and, as she was reaching forward her hand to him, the black-hearted slave-dealer ordered him down. He did not obey. The husband and wife, with tears streaming down their cheeks, besought him to let them speak to each other. But no; he was knocked down from the car, and ordered away! The bystanders could hardly restrain themselves from laying violent hands upon the brute. This is but a faint description of the scene which took place within a few rods of the Capitol, and under enactments recognised by Congress. Oh, what a revolting scene to a feeling heart, and what a retribution awaits the actors! Will not their wailings of anguish reach the ears of the Most High? 'Vengeance is mine — I will repay, saith the Lord.' "

In view of such enormities, I ask you, does not this people tower above the nations of the earth in crime, as much as we rise above them in privileges and opportunities? Can there be a doubt in any intelligent mind of our imperative duty to pray and to strive, with unceasing exertion, for the immediate and unconditional overthrow of American Slavery? *Can the Christian* forget the slave in his prayers? *Can the Christian* minister be silent in the sacred desk respecting his brother in bonds? *Can* any doctrine or preaching, not imbued, warmed up, and alive with the great spirit of Christian humanity, glorify God or save man? *Can* the good man pass by, with unconcern, the wounded, stripped, and bleeding slave? *Can* he join in the fellowship of approving love, with the robbers who strip their helpless victims of their all, and then leave them to perish by the wayside? *Can* he, in any case, under any circumstances, in any emergency, recognise as true Christians, the priest and the Levite, who see these millions of pleading, dying bondmen around them, but put forth no earnest, manly effort to aid them?

These are solemn, searching questions. To conscience and to God I have answered them; and be the consequences what they may, I take you to witness this day my vow. As far as possible, I will put myself in the place of the slave. No time and no place shall be witness to my silence in regard to the atrocious sin of slaveholding. My honest rebuke shall never be wanting towards those who commit the crime of supporting, by vote or Christian recognition, or by criminal silence, the slaveholder. With all the earnestness of my heart I will plead the cause of the three million members of the human brotherhood, now chained in the great Southern prison of cruelty and woe. I will plead their cause upon the *Sabbath* and in the *sanctuary*, in the world and in the social circle. *I entreat you to ponder upon your*

duty. Let the light of eternal truth shine upon *your* path. With a sublime trust in God, move onward and upward in the path of holy, self-denying love.

Let us now dwell a moment, in thought, upon the *advancement* which the slave-power has made *in its system of morality*, during sixty years of remarkable human progress. Washington and Jefferson unhesitatingly spoke of slavery as an unmitigated and fearful evil. They publicly expressed an earnest desire to see the whole system overthrown. But *now*, while the world is convulsed with the rousing energies of oppressed millions struggling for freedom, in the noon-time of the nineteenth century, the inhuman position is taken and tenaciously maintained, by nearly all the leading men of the entire South, *that slavery is a blessing—the corner-stone of democracy—the divinely-appointed relation between the laborer and the employer.* How appalling the demonstration which this fact affords of the degrading influence which slavery exerts upon the public mind!

The slave-power is now operating with all its old energy and unanimity, to inflict the curse of human bondage upon New Mexico and California. Slaves are already bought, and sold, and tasked in these territories. It is estimated by a strong-minded slaveholder and an earnest slavery propagandist, that ten thousand slaves will be introduced into California the present year. Thousands of slaveholders are on their way to the land of golden promise, with the strong determination to plant slavery there. I know that many true-hearted anti-slavery men have likewise gone from the Free States to California, who will exert a manly and a faithful influence against the establishment of slavery there. I thank God they are to be on the ground. I wish a hundred thousand faithful abolitionists were this day congregated on the shores of the Pacific Sea and in the valleys of California. I know it is said by many able men, that

there is no danger of the establishment of slavery in these territories. But I cannot agree with them in this view. The warning record of *our* nation's history tells me that there is and must be imminent danger, without the specific and unflinching prohibition of slavery in all our territories by Congress. Nothing but the most unwearied vigilance, untiring effort, and united heartiness, on the part of the true friends of man, can prevent the triumph of the slave-power in its present atrocious scheme for planting this desolating curse upon the soil of a vast unsettled empire, which is now free by law.

Well, let slavery triumph in this enterprise, and you prepare the way for the annexation of the remaining Mexican States, Guatemala and the West India Islands, to our Union as slave States. And what then? Why *then* the slave-power would control this country. *Then* nothing but the sword and the fagot could finish our drama of national crime and retribution. No intelligent man, at all acquainted with the history of this country for the last twenty years, doubts the earnestness or tenacity of the slave-power's purpose to make slavery the overshadowing influence in our national councils, by its extension to the Isthmus and to the Islands of the Great Gulf, and by the introduction of all this vast territory, as independent States, into our Federal Union. Nor can any sane mind, cognizant of the past and awake to the present, doubt the imminence of our danger from these infernal schemes of the slave-power.

The slave-power demands not the negro alone as its victim. Complexion has nothing to do with the enslavement of human beings. Hundreds and thousands of slaves at the South are as white as you or I. The slave-power demands the enslavement of the *laborer*. And this is by no means an idle demand. Let slavery continue another sixty years, steadily extending its dominion; let the slave-power control

the destinies of this people during these coming years ; and as surely as a just God reigneth, the prospective atrocities of the slave-power will be accomplished. And *then* the universal relation of laborer to employer, in this Western world, will be that of slave to master. Capital will own the soil, and the tillers thereof ; the work-shop and the toiling artisan, the implements of labor, and the millions who use them. This whole land will *then* be a land of whips and chains, and branding-irons—a land of heartless tyrants and cringing slaves!! How true then the sentiments of our Resolutions. It is the duty of every man, woman, and child, both North and South of the dividing line, to do all that can be done to secure the immediate emancipation of our brethren in bonds ; to labor, in and out of season, for the instant and entire overthrow of American Slavery. This is the pressing present issue before us, vital both to *our* well-being and to the well-being of our *children* after us. Neglect this, and you neglect the great, the momentous duty of our day. Neglect this, and I care not what else you do perform, you are faithless stewards in the household of your Lord.

When I forget the slave, and cease to labor for his emancipation from bondage, and for his introduction to the glorious privileges of the equal and universal brotherhood which Jesus came to establish, “ *Then let my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.*”

Let us now briefly consider the *agency* by which the slave-power acts and rules. The slaveholders, acting alone, could never have wrought out a tithe of the vast and atrocious enterprise which has been accomplished by the slave-power. Union and energy would never avail five hundred thousand men in an earnest encounter with fifteen millions. One man, in the most unrighteous cause that ever enlisted the abandoned and the reprobate, could not stand

his ground a moment against thirty men, enrolled under the banner of Humanity. But the slave-power has ruled the country and extended wide the curse of human bondage, by securing the neutrality, or the open support of the men of wealth, of commanding influence, and of great learning through our whole land. The great majority of our whole people, while at heart loving liberty and hating oppression, yet, actuated too much by the blind spirit of party bigotry, and led on by these compromisers in their party action, have acquiesced in this unholy alliance with the slave-power. How many honest, well-sustained efforts against the aggressions of the slave-power can you find in the public life of the giant mind of this State, during the thirty years that he has acted an important part in the councils of this nation? Alas for Humanity that it should be so! *Hardly one.* But on the other hand, you can find numberless cases of shameful concession to, and cowardly compromise with, the dark spirit of slavery, in the public life of Massachusetts' most honored son! And what is said of him may be said also of nearly every influential statesman acting in our government for the past thirty years. Without doubt, the people in their stupid clamor about banks and tariffs, forgetting entirely the down-trodden slave, and mobbing the few who dared to plead the cause of the despised bondman, are partly accountable for this wicked subserviency on the part of their public servants to the slave-power. And so also, still more, has the shameful subserviency of our leading statesmen exerted a potent influence upon the people, to make them the besotted allies of their deadliest enemy. Thank God! a change is working in the public mind. "The seal is broken," and true men are leading to the encounter the mustering hosts of Humanity.

The slave-power has been aided in the execution

of its nefarious schemes by a venal and time-serving press. And here is now one of its most potent supporters. I speak not now of papers which are merely partisan and political in their character, for such papers *must* betray and crucify Humanity. Their aim is mean, cruel, and unholy, and their influence is necessarily devilish. Such papers are found one day arrayed against a universal and unmitigated wrong, as the democratic journals of New England were in 1842 and 1843, against the annexation of Texas to our Union; and the next day you shall find them *all* joining with corrupt political leaders in shouting *for* this great crime as a leading party issue! You cannot say that they violate conscience, or sell principle, for they are manifestly destitute of both. It is their trade to lie, and to pander to the worst passions of men, *and they glory in their shame.* We leave them to the contempt of virtuous intelligence. We expect no aid from *them* in the cause of the human brotherhood. And we only say of them, that true men will give them no support or countenance; but leave them to sink by the weight of their inherent baseness.

But I would speak an earnest word of remonstrance against the course pursued by papers, which, professing to seek truth and duty, and the promotion of the well-being of man, do yet give efficient aid to the slave-power. The New York Tribune, professing to understand the high duties of our social brotherhood, and often discoursing most eloquently upon the rights of down-trodden man, pollutes its columns with fulsome adulation of our President as a *peace* man; as an *honest* man; as a *humane* man! A *peace* man? engaged in war from his youth, as the trade of his life, and not only so, but the leader in the two most infamous wars which the present century has witnessed! An *honest* man? daily robbing hundreds of fellow-members of the human family of their hard

earnings, and building up a large estate by legalized piracy! A *humane* man? the enslaver of men, women, and children! the butcher of thousands in wars of atrocious injustice! Alas, how utterly perverted a great mind becomes by the sacrifice of principle to party, or to an imaginary self-interest!

Turn now to our religious papers. Do the fervent appeals of a suffering brotherhood meet a true and loving response from these professed oracles of the blessed Jesus? Alas, how far from true devotion to God and a suffering world they stand! We will not say a word of the "Observers" and "Puritan Records," since their place and influence are obviously partisan, sectarian, and inhuman; but we would and we must protest against the compromising course pursued on this vital question by such papers as the "Congregationalist," and the "Independent." These papers were recently established with the explicit promise that they should be thoroughly anti-slavery. Thousands of earnest abolitionists, trusting in their professions, take and read them. It is our right to demand of the editors of these papers, that they take, and unflinchingly maintain, high ground of opposition to, and war against American Slavery. It is the duty of every sincere man and woman, who loves the ruined slave, to withhold from them all support, if they fail to plant themselves on this ground. Where are the editors of the Congregationalist? All of them keepers of our late National Fast, without one word of rebuke for the evident hypocrisy of that act. All of them commenders of the death-bed repentance and sprinkling of our late most wicked President, and that without one word of the *last* fearful crime of his dying hour, in leaving his outraged slaves to toil on in hopeless despair, and to die in chains. One of the three responsible editors of that paper, famous years ago for his "organic" folly at the meeting of the American Board in Brooklyn, has just voted against

the petition of the colored citizens of Boston, for the free enjoyment of their precious rights to the public schools of Boston, because, as he says, in justifying his vote, "public opinion is not ready for the righteous measure." The three editors of this paper, and the three men at the head of the Independent, justify and applaud the course which the American Board has just taken in their annual meeting at Pittsfield, upon the subject of slavery in the Mission Churches. And one of their number, the leading minister of New Haven, is the author of a recent report, accepted by a large body of ministers, in which it is openly stated, that the relation of the master to the slave, is not *per se* sinful! Let who can, hope for good from such a religious press. *I cannot.* God grant that true men and true women may leave these compromising papers to die, and their memory to rot. When shall we see this sin of compromise with wrong, of which our public men are so generally, so deeply guilty, placed as it should be at the head of all conceivable unworthiness?

Of how many of our papers professing to be anti-slavery, we are compelled in sadness to say, there is no independence, no manliness, no reliable principle, no *clear* light of truth, no *abiding* devotedness to right, to be found in them. Witness the unworthy and pro-slavery defence of Friar Mathew, for his craven submission to slavery, in the Chronotype. A stronger ally the slave-power never had than the editor of that paper, in his attempted exculpation of the Irish priest and compromiser, for his ignoring in *this* country the *unpopular* cause of the slave, which *at home*, a *popular* cause, he had embraced, and joined O'Connell and others in aiding along! Merciful God! give to the hosts of humanity, as leaders in the crisis of this great day, men of the uncompromising spirit and true devotion to right, which shone out so steadfastly and brightly in our "Great Captain!"

Jesus freely, lovingly gave His life to ransom and save us. Oh, may we be ready to die for that precious brotherhood which He has established, if the path of duty should lead us to the Cross!

Again, the slave-power has used, and is now using, a false religion and a faithless ministry to extend and perpetuate the worst diabolism the sun ever shone upon — American Slavery. Albert Barnes, one of the ablest Presbyterian ministers of this country, declares : — “ Most sincerely do we believe, that, if all Christians in these States were to ‘ do with their might ’ what they can find to be done, — the love of Christ constraining them ; — if they would detach themselves from all personal connection with the system of slavery, so that their influence should not ‘ throw the sacred shield of religion over so great an evil, there is no public sentiment in this land — there could be none created, that would resist the power of such testimony. There is no power *out* of the church, that could sustain slavery an hour, if it were not sustained *in* it. Not a blow need be struck. Not an unkind word need be uttered. No man’s motive need be impugned ; no man’s proper rights invaded. All that is needful is, for each Christian man, and for every Christian church, to stand up in the sacred majesty of such a solemn testimony ; to free themselves from all connection with the evil, and utter a calm and deliberate voice to the world, **AND THE WORK WILL BE DONE.** ’ ”

Strange that one, who can give utterance to such true and noble sentiments as these, should still consent to be connected, in ecclesiastical fellowship, with a slaveholding church, as the Presbyterian Church South is.

Another of our ablest writers says : “ But for the countenance of the Northern Church, the Southern conscience would long since have awakened to a sense of its guilt, and the impious sight of a church

made up of slaveholders, and called the church of Christ, would have been scouted from the world."

This is strong language ; but no man who understands the tremendous influence which the church exerts, can, for a moment, doubt its correctness. The stern and sorrowful truth is, the American Church is the slaveholder's strong hiding-place. John C. Calhoun is a ruling elder in a Presbyterian church. The religion of the South—which is wholly a thing of forms, psalm-singing, praying, preaching, Sabbath-keeping, and such like, but which has no vital power, as the connection of the Southern Church with slavery proves—is referred to every day, to prove that slaveholders may be good, pious men ! It is true, a man wishes to be blinded who is deceived by these things.

But I will let facts speak for themselves, in respect to the connection of the Northern Church with slavery. The A. B. C. F. M. have just closed their annual meeting at Pittsfield. What have they done upon the slavery question ? In a spirit of unholy compromise, they have ignored the whole question. Their influence is now on the side of Southern Slavery. Their feet are on the necks of the slaves ! Every dollar now given to sustain them, is given against Humanity ! Do you ask, what signifies the fact that the American Board of Foreign Missions, is a pro-slavery body ? It signifies just this : the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches of the Free States, *which sustain that society*, are pro-slavery, and in league with the slave-power. *A very significant fact for Christians in these churches to consider.* Again, the Methodist Episcopal Church North, is in league and full fellowship with slaveholding churches. Hope Slatter, the notorious slave-trader, is one of the liberal supporters of this church. Hence, the influence of all these churches is necessarily against Jesus and Humanity. The same may

be said and proved of nearly all the denominational bodies of professed Christians in all the Free States. There are Independent churches, which are fully and gloriously anti-slavery. May God increase them till our land is dotted, from ocean to ocean, with true Christian churches, obedient to the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, which shine out so clearly on every page of the Gospel of Jesus, and in every act of His *true life*.

The Wesleyan Church is the only *denomination* of which I have any knowledge in New England, that professes to take uncompromising anti-slavery ground. And even in this church, a leading man openly occupied last autumn, and without open rebuke, a pro-slavery position, by voting and electioneering for our present slaveholding President. But I would not be so unjust as to class the Wesleyan Church with the other denominations of New England, as being connected in ecclesiastical relations with slaveholders. I believe it to be not only free from all such wicked relations, but also earnestly desirous of doing a faithful part in the great work of Sanctified Humanity, which is now calling upon all men for instant aid. In this work, may God speed the Wesleyan Church. In mercy, may it be freed from the baneful presence of all pro-slavery men, by their conversion to the truth, or if that be impossible, by their expulsion from her communion.

In speaking of other denominations, truth compels me to say, that they are found fearfully recreant, judged by the unerring rule of Christ: "By their fruits ye shall know them." Look at their fruits. In the momentous crisis of last year, doctors of divinity and ministers of great influence, by hundreds and thousands, voted for the bloody leader of our armies in their unholy crusade against Humanity. I think I may safely say, in ninety-nine churches out of every hundred of these denominations in New

England, professed followers of the uncompromising Jesus, voted for the warrior slaveholder, who keeps in bondage hundreds of his fellow-men. By their votes did they aid to elevate him to the Presidency, reeking in the blood of the slaughtered Indians and Mexicans, and made rich by the unrighteous gains of unpaid toil. It is a significant fact, too, that a large majority of the ministers, having charge of these churches, preached no earnest, truthful, and timely discourse, during the last year's canvas, respecting the atrocious sin of voting for a slaveholder. And *now*, American Slavery is the *last* topic of Sabbath discourse, on which an earnest word is heard from their pulpits. American Slavery is the subject on which the least is now said, by these ministers, of all subjects which interest the public mind. Now bear in mind that this is no secondary question, but, in stern reality, the leading, most pressing, and most vital Christian reform of our day, and then decide yourselves, in view of the spirit of silence and compromise manifested thereon; if it be not true, that a false religion and a faithless ministry aid and support the abhorrent slave-power.

The American Church is deeply dyed in guilt, in respect to the enslavement and ruin of the millions of our brethren, who are held in fetters to a fearful extent, by her alliance with the slave-power. *Ministers and people, of every county in every State of this Union*, go from the sanctuary to the ballot-box, and vote for a noted murderer and man-stealer, helping to elevate to the highest office within the gift of this people, a man whose whole life is stained with undisguised and unspeakable crimes. Are they dealt with for this atrocious sin? *Not one of them.* Their character as Christians is unaffected and unstained, in the view of the Church, by this open league with hell. The American Church, *as a body*, oppose and brand as come-outers and infidels, every one who

is faithful in the remembrance of the slave, as the *gospel commands, as bound with him*. The American Church, *as a body*, attempt to throw the Bible and the Sabbath down upon, to crush the dying slave !

I can point to churches which were formed as anti-slavery churches, in which a faithful anti-slavery sermon is not preached during one of the fifty-two Sabbaths of the year. I recently attended the exercises, ordaining and installing a minister over such a church. Three hours were consumed in pointing out the duties of pastor and people ; but not one minute was given in prayer or speaking to the millions of slaves, who plead in vain of that church for a remembrance of sympathy, of love, and of ceaseless toil, *such as God commands*. Such churches are as truly and as fearfully pro-slavery as the church to which the slaveholder, Henry Clay, belongs, or the one in whose communion Thomas Hart Benton is found, or that of which John C. Calhoun is a ruling elder. What kind of a *Christian* church would that be, in which no sermon about *Christ* should be preached, from one end of the year to the other ? Such an organization might be a *Jewish* or a *Mahomedan* church, but to call it a *Christian* church would be a naked fraud.

It is with unfeigned sorrow that I speak of such facts, for my heart longs, yea, it faints to see such a church in our world, as Jesus Christ established, with power to reform the world, by the establishment of Righteousness, Peace, and a Brotherhood of Love, throughout the length and breath of the earth.

But I would not let any feelings or sympathies blind me to the truth. Neither would I for any consideration of selfish interest or short-sighted expediency, suppress one jot or tittle of my honest conviction of what is the truth. Hence it is, that I feel compelled to say, that the American Church, *as a*

body, occupies to-day, a false, faithless and destructive position, in regard to the most atrocious and debasing sin of our world, American Slavery !

But let us not forget to look to ourselves, in searching out the wicked agency, by which the slave-power has secured obedience to its abhorrent commands. But few of us can say, that we are innocent of having harbored in our hearts a wicked prejudice towards the negro. Few, if any of us, who have not been guilty of indifference towards the pleading, wretched slave. All such prejudice is of the devil, and all such indifference is direct and potent support of the slave-power. Few of us have remembered the slave as bound with him ; and, failing to do all this, we forget to minister to the Lord of all, who is chained and lacerated in the bondage and sufferings of the least of his brethren, languishing and dying in the great Southern prison land ! Repentance is therefore our duty. The strongest obligation lays hold upon us, "deeply to deplore the sin of our nation" and our sin "in holding slaves," and "to do all we can to secure the immediate emancipation of all in bondage," and their immediate introduction to a full participation in the glorious privileges of the GREAT CHRISTIAN BROTHERHOOD. The negro is not to be sent to Africa, nor driven across the line of Western civilization. This land is his native *home*, as truly as it is ours. He has the same inalienable right to enjoy fully and unmolested the civil, social and moral privileges of this country, that we have. God is his father as truly as he is ours. The same glorious and immortal endowments are bestowed upon him that we possess. We are brethren of the same family, and our destiny must unite and run on together. We cannot permit the negro to remain in bondage, for in so doing we are forging chains for our children. And if we falter and fail in the encounter to which we are now called against the desolating inroads of the slave-power, our children's children will there-

by reap a harvest of sufferings and woe. Here then we take an immovable stand. We can do no otherwise. May God help us, for this is Jehovah's cause.

In conclusion, allow me to say a word to the young. Young men and young women! I would that I possessed the power to set before you, with a divine eloquence, the glory and the greatness of the mission to which you are called. No generation ever came upon the stage of active life with such vast opportunities for doing good with such momentous responsibilities for the improvement of life, as you, who are now coming up into your fathers' and mothers' places in society. Those who have gone before you, leading you along in your early ways, have passed the summit, and are now descending the hill of life. Their habits of thought and modes of action, were long ago fixed and settled. Their political prejudices long ago became strong, through the potent influence of years of party controversy. The great work of Humanity, which we are now called to undertake and accomplish, imperatively demands of us, to lay aside all prejudice, both party and sectarian animosities. Forgetting the paltry objects of past party divisions, we must awake to the noble ambition, to the fixed purpose of soul, to live, pray, love and toil, for the world's redemption and salvation, in Jesus Christ. We must press on and ever onward in this only true and worthy life, till we arrive at our glorious home, and come to perfection of knowledge, holiness, love and joy, in the presence of our Lord.

This work of reform cannot be accomplished, nor really advanced, by minds controlled by sectarian or party prejudice. Perhaps we ought not to expect, that a majority of those who have passed the meridian of life, will lay aside *all* prejudice, and at once come heartily and freshly into this work. Men sometimes do this, I know. Some noble men there

are, who are always young, with the freshness of heart and the tenderness of conscience of opening life unimpaired. Would to God there were more such! But this is not the general result of a long life and a fierce struggle in our selfish world. The heart grows old and tough too often, with the increase of years; and the prejudices of education, being long cherished, become a habit of the mind, from which few can break away. Fondest welcome, reverence and love, then, be given to the aged and the wise, who are now faithfully employed in this great work of universal Christian Humanity. So also to all in the maturity or advance of life, who will come boldly up to the help of the Lord's pleading children, against the terrible slave-power.

But whoever else may engage in this sublime enterprise, it is, after all, most emphatically committed to the young, the affectionate, the generous, the ardent, to those yet uncontaminated by close and long contact with a heartless world. Behold, then, my dear young friends, the glorious mission to which God calls you. Listen to the heavenly summons. Gird on the Divine panoply of truth, faith and love, and enter upon the arduous work of a sanctified and universal Humanity. Swell the ranks of liberty by your presence. Let your glad tones ring out in the front ranks of God's fast marshalling host. Help on the regeneration of the world. Lay not up your treasures upon the earth. Secure enduring treasures of love in the hearts of your brother men, for then shall you have priceless and eternal treasure in the Kingdom of God. Be not controlled by a selfish, paltry ambition. Be good, and *then* you will be great. Love, and strive to promote the highest well-being of man, and *then* you shall be loved in return, and you shall be truly and for ever blessed. Three millions of slaves, your own brothers, your own sisters, though branded, chained and despised, turn upon *you* their



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weeping eyes, stretch out to *you* their manacled hands and lift up unto *you* their pleading voices for deliverance from their insupportable sorrows. Oh ! turn ye upon those beseeching eyes the bright beams of brotherly love,—grasp those manacled hands with the strong earnestness of deep sympathy, of fond affection,—respond to those entreating tones of pleading sorrow in the divine words of our Prince and deliverer, “*Lo I come to do thy will, O God, to set these wailing captives free, to bind up these broken hearts, to open the iron door of bondage for the deliverance of these dear imprisoned brethren, to pour the light of love and truth into these immortal minds, shrouded in thick darkness through the rapacity and injustice of their brother man, to sound aloud through the world again and again, the glad heavenly song,*

“ Glory to God in the Heavens ;
“ Peace and good will to man on earth.”

Come ! for all things are now ready. Let God's Spirit in this propitious hour, witness, approve and seal your inward purpose, your holy vow, from this moment to consecrate your opening energies, your matured powers, your last mental aspirations on the shores of time, to the heavenly enterprise of giving to all mankind a peaceful, happy place in the Christian Brotherhood of Fraternity, Liberty, and Equality. Enter yourself into the family of Jesus. Lead others with you into the blessed circle of love, and peace, and joy in God. Oh ! that the young men and young women of our day, would awake to a true sense of their responsibilities, and, girded with an immovable faith in God and a divine love for man would enter upon a life of true holy beneficence. For *then*, slavery and all wrong-doing would soon be banished from the earth, and our world would become paradise of love, piety and happiness.